Rhetoric in Anti-Immigrant Political Advertising From 2006-2012

Undergraduate Thesis

Alex Fraga
Advisor: Dr. Andrew Martin

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Abstract

This paper explores the issues that candidates and political organizations focus on to garner anti–illegal immigration support in their campaign advertising. Specifically, this research explores the content of political campaign advertising and how such adverts describe issues of immigration in terms of economic costs, fear or crime, and cultural differences. Fear based narratives were more commonly utilized from 2006-2010 until 2012, when economic narratives saw a sharp increase in prevalence and fear based narratives experienced a rapid decline. The results suggest that a concerted effort by the Republican Party to soften anti-immigration rhetoric in combination with the economic recession led the political rhetoric surrounding immigration issues to see a dramatic shift in focus.

Introduction

Past research has shown political campaign television advertising to hold profound influence on viewers' evaluations issues and their perceived importance of those issues (Mccomb and Shaw 1972; Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995; Brader 2005; Valentino, Hutchings, and Williams 2004; Gerber et al. 2007)**.** Past research has also found increased exposure to political campaign advertising to be a mobilizing force in increasing voter participation (Freedman, Franz, and Goldstein 2004; Freedman and Goldstein 2002). Thus, political campaign ads do not just shape

what issues and how important viewers evaluate these issues, but which candidates they go onto support. Furthermore, political advertisements influence the issues or agenda in news media. As viewers of political campaign advertising, journalists respond to issues and agendas set by political campaigns in their coverage of political issues in print and television news (Roberts and McCombs 1994).

Among the most recent pressing political issues communicated in political campaign ads has been the debate on how best to reform immigration policy in the United States. Political advertising on immigration issues—often in the form of a 30- to 60-second commercial favoring a candidate and his or her stance on immigration—presents an audio-visual production designed to associate immigrants with cues about where these immigrants come from, what they look like, and what role they play in America. The more time that the media spends on a specific issue like immigration, the greater the importance that media consumers place upon that issue (McCombs and Shaw 1972; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). According to a Pew Research poll in in 2006, 10% of respondents ranked immigration the single most important issue, a 20-year high (Brader, Valentino, Suhay, 2008). Those who live in states bordering the U.S.-Mexican border are even more likely to consume media coverage of immigration, and subsequently they are more likely to rank immigration as the number one problem facing American citizens (Dunaway, Branton, and Abrajano 2010).

Given the political importance of immigration issues to Americans, and acknowledging the power of media to shape Americans' opinions on these issues, it is critical that we examine how the political campaigns depict issues related to

immigration. Past research has examined the political power media and political campaign advertising have, the narrative surrounding immigration in print media and television news media, and how visual representations affect viewers' evaluations and attitudes towards immigration. However, there is little systematic evidence of the content and language used in political campaign advertising on immigration issues. Candidates and other political organizations spend a great deal of money on campaign advertisements with the goal of garnering support. Given the high cost of campaign advertising and the limited 30-second time frame to inform or persuade a viewer, what messages do candidates believe to be the most pertinent or persuasive?

This paper explores the issues that candidates and political organizations focus on to garner anti–illegal immigration support in their campaign advertising, the language that candidates employ, and how these messages converge or diverge with past findings in print media content analysis. Specifically, this research explores the content of political campaign advertising and how such adverts describe issues of immigration in terms of economic costs, fear or crime, and cultural differences.

Literature Review

Media and Immigration

Language holds the power to shape political opinion (Mehan 1997). In particular, Mehan (1997) writes, "Speakers use a host of grammatical and discourse structures to express and define social relationships in society." There has been

much research on the language and political rhetoric surrounding immigration and the "politics of representation" in print media (Mehan 1997). Furthermore, there has been a great deal of research examining print media's coverage of Proposition 187, a controversial California ballot initiative in 1994 that would have required citizenship checks for public education, healthcare, and other social services. Though Proposition 187 won a majority of the vote of California citizens, it was later ruled to be unconstitutional by state courts (Santa Ana 1999).

In a study of language used in newspaper articles covering California's Proposition 187, Ana (1999) found that much of the conversation on illegal immigration relied on negative metaphors. These metaphors often compared immigrants to animals being hunted, criminals, weeds, enemy combatants, a "flood," or collectively as a disease infecting the "body" of the United States. Massey and Pren (2012) found increased usage of metaphors that describe Mexican immigration as a crisis, flood, or invasion in U.S. newspapers coincides with anti-immigrant measures such as HR 4437 or 2005, 1996 acts, and the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986.

In addition, past research has found the rhetoric surrounding Proposition 187 to be more blatantly xenophobic, accused of being "veiled racism" that is consistent with traditional or historical anti-immigrant sentiment in America (Shattell and Villalba 2008; Ono and Sloop 2002). For instance, Shattell and Villalba (2008) find "the strong, and at times vitriolic, discussion is eerily similar to the anti-non-White, non-Protestant rhetoric 'discussions' of the past." In another study examining representation and rhetoric surrounding immigrants and Proposition

187, Mehan (1997) analyzed speeches, articles, pamphlets, legal opinions, letters, political documents, and editorials in popular Californian newspapers, finding that the narrative surrounding undocumented immigrants established a sense of the 'other.' For example, 'othering' is often utilized by using such words as 'we,' 'us,' and 'here' that establish a sense of community, juxtaposed with words such as "them" that construct an "us versus them" sentiment.

Calavita (1996) argued that anti-immigrant sentiment surrounding Proposition 187 was a "new nativism" driven by recent economic recession, where immigrants became the scapegoat for voters to express their anger. Suárez-Orozco (1995) suggested that the narrative of immigrants-as-parasites, immigrants-as-criminals, and the broader "othering" of immigrants was a reaction to anxiety and social turmoil. Suárez-Orozco conducts a psychosocial analysis of "immigrants as scape-goat," saying that, "Much of the current fear of immigrants is irrational and paranoid in nature… A person or a group is singled out as the cause of another group's unbearable tensions and accused of possessing unacceptable traits (such as savagery, primitiveness, or aggression)" (p. 38).

Language can be a carefully calibrated weapon to persuade and condition people to draw specific conclusions. Frank Luntz, a Republican political pollster, conducts focus groups and real–time message testing to find out the words and phrases to which people respond most positively (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). In 2006, drawing upon the results of his surveying of focus groups, Luntz drafted a blueprint of how Republicans should speak about illegal immigration, and immigrants more generally. Following in suit with "othering" or the "us versus

them" rhetoric, Luntz urged Republicans to say things such as; "This is about overcrowding of *your* schools, emergency room chaos in *your* hospitals, the increase in *your* taxes, and crime in *your* communities" (emphasis in the original; Luntz 2005).

Furthermore, the association of undocumented immigrants with an increased likelihood of behaving criminally has been a common theme in the U.S. media. Flores (2003) writes about this representation of immigrant populations as being nothing new, where "immigrants and criminality are so closely connected rhetorically that the slippage from immigrant to criminal seems almost natural" (Ono and Sloop 2002; Santa Ana, 1999). Luntz argued that Republicans should frame the conversation around crime and immigration more directly. For instance, Luntz recommends that Republicans use a specific vocabulary that is crafted to frame immigrants as socially invasive and criminally inclined, as the following statement illustrates:

> "Let's talk about the facts behind illegal immigrants. They commit crimes. They are more likely to drive uninsured. More likely to clog up hospital waiting rooms. More likely to be involved in anti-social behavior because they have learned that breaking the law brings more benefit to them than abiding by it." (Luntz 2005)

Chavez (2008) argues that the media discourse surrounding Latino immigration to the United States is rooted in fear. He labels this shift in the language used to describe Latino immigrants as the "Latino Threat Narrative." Chavez posits that this narrative describes Latinos as different from past immigrant groups in that they are unwilling and unable to assimilate and integrate into American society (Chavez 2008). Unlike previous immigrants to America, Latino immigrants are

presumed to be especially criminal by nature, have "out of control" fertility rates, and are "invading" in order to undermine American culture and values (Chavez 2008; p. 2).

Discussions of border security and immigration are not a new narrative in the political media, but the events of September 11, 2001, brought new energy to the immigration debate. Commonly the media and politicians were found alluding to perceived threat of terrorists entering America through Mexico (Chavez 2008). While the hijackers of the September 11th attacks did not cross any land border (Coleman 2007) and, from biographical data of nearly 400 terrorists, zero of them had crossed the U.S. Mexican border (Leiken and Brooke 2007), connections between border security, immigration, and terrorism remain strong. Luntz urged Republican candidates to speak about border security in terms of "preventing the next September 11th," using arguments such as, "Right now, hundreds of illegal immigrants are crossing the border almost every day. Some of them are part of drug cartels. Some are career criminals. Some may even be terrorists" (Luntz 2005). Importantly, Luntz has asserted that these turns of phrase were successful in persuading not just Republican voters, but far-left voters.

Rhetoric that marries immigration and terrorism is a common occurrence in policy-making, particularly following the 1994 World Trade Center bombing, the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, and the attacks of September 11, 2001 (Martin and Midgley 2003). For example, a recent bill in Congress aimed at enforcing stricter immigration policies at the Mexican border and making it a crime to assist an undocumented person called "The Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal

Immigration Control Act of 2005" that passed the U.S. House of Representatives, but was struck down in the Senate (Fachinni, Mayda, and Puglisi, 2009). While there is scarce empirical evidence demonstrating that media coverage is complicit in linking terrorism and immigration, there is strong evidence that the association between immigration and terrorism is a common narrative in the political media and in policy discussions alike.

Race Baiting

One of the most well researched tactics used in political advertising is "race–baiting," defined as the activation of white viewers' negative racial attitudes through implicit priming of those attitudes. Most notably, the Willie Horton advertisement run by George H.W. Bush in the Bush versus Dukakis 1988 election showed the image of Horton, a black male convicted of murder and rape, and stated that Mike Dukakis had enabled Horton's criminal acts. The advertisement activated negative emotions towards black males and undoubtedly cost Dukakis votes (Mendelberg 2001). Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is strong evidence that the race-baiting in the Willie Horton advertisement was an intentional and calculated decision by the Bush campaign (Mendelberg 2001). There is a wealth of evidence that supports that race–baiting is effective in priming whites' negative attitudes towards African-Americans, not just in the Willie Horton advertisement, but also in an array of other contexts, such as welfare and criminality (Mendelberg 2001; Hurwitz and Peffley 2005; Peffley, Hurwitz, and Sniderman 1997; Gilens 1996; and Gilliam 1999).

Comparably less research has examined race-baiting outside of the black–

white dichotomy, but there are a few notable contributions. One such study indicates that news media representations of Latino immigrants, as opposed to depictions of European immigrants, increased white viewers' opposition to immigration by double, as well as their reported feelings of fear and anger towards immigrants (Brader et al. 2008). Furthermore, to test the likelihood of political participation, participants were asked if they would like to have an anti–immigrant message sent to their congressperson on their behalf. Participants were far more likely to feel compelled to do so after being presented with a story about low–skilled Latino immigrants, as opposed to low–skilled European immigrants (Brader et al. 2008).

Much of the past research has centered in media coverage of immigration, particularly in regards to print media of Proposition 187. While this research has offered a wealth of information on how news media, print media, and journalists discuss immigration, it largely neglects to inform us of what aspects of immigration politicians choose to focus on and what language is used. Luntz offers words and phrases for candidates to use in order to maximize a positive response from viewers. However, whether or not "othering" and race-baiting is employed, and to what extent, in anti–immigration political campaign advertising is unknown. The link between terrorism and immigration has been made in an array of contexts, but whether or not candidates and other political organizations seek to garner voter support through an immigration-terrorism framework in advertising is yet to be examined. While we know racial priming has been utilized often in politics, its use in

political campaign advertising on immigration is left unanswered.

Research Questions

This research examines the messages and language used in political campaign television advertising to describe immigration issues in America. Specifically, the content of these ads is categorized according to how they describe issues surrounding immigration, in terms economic, emotional or fear, and cultural. While past research has found media depictions of immigrants as criminals or as parasites to be a common theme, examining political campaign advertising will provide insight into if this theme is rooted primarily in news journalism or a part of a larger political conversation. This research will also explore metaphors, language, and othering in political campaign advertising and how these rhetorical devices are similar or dissimilar from print media.

The advertisements analyzed in this work aired in television media markets across America from elections spanning the time frame 2006 to 2012. Due to the economic recession, this time frame will lend itself to an examination of past findings that the extent of "othering" or placing the responsibility of economic woes on undocumented immigrants is more prevalent than in times of economic stability (Calavita 1996). This time frame also allows for an analysis of how post-9/11 terrorism narratives and immigration issues are related in political campaign advertising. Additionally, Americans placed great value and importance on immigration issues during the beginning of this time frame, but this view steadily decreased through 2012 (Pew Research Center 2012). Because of the salience of

immigration issues in 2006 and the later decline in importance to Americans, it is critical to analyze the messages that political figures are communicating to American citizens and the reasons campaign advertisements cite for why citizens should care about immigration issues (Jones, Jeffrey 2012 and Brader, Valentino, Suhay 2008).

Research Methods

All national and state level political advertisements focusing exclusively on immigration found on the Internet spanning from 2006 to 2012 were included in the sample. Advertisements were found on YouTube by searching for key words such as, "immigration advertisement," "political immigration advertisements," "immigration advertisements in 2010," etc. Advertisements that mentioned immigration, but were not exclusively highlighting immigration issues were excluded from the sample (N = 53). Excluded advertisements typically covered a range of issues and addressed immigration for twenty percent or less of the total content of the ad, leaving too little content available for analysis. Advertisements were posted by both campaign or political organizations official account and unaffiliated individuals. The final sample comprises 53 anti-immigration political campaign advertisements. Twelve advertisements were for candidates running for president or attack ads against the president, 23 were for candidates running for congress or attack ads against a member of congress, five were for gubernatorial elections. Thirteen were not for any particular candidate, but rather a message to "contact our leaders" or "tell congress." Of these 53 advertisements 32 were

produced by the candidate's campaign. The remaining 21 were created by other organizations, such as the National Republican Senatorial Committee, Minutemen PAC, Coalition for Future American Workers, and Numbers USA.

Common Themes: Fear, Economics, and Culture

Advertisements were then categorized into at least one of three groups based on visual representations and audio: fear or crime narratives, economic narratives, and cultural or national narratives. These categorized were developed based trends or common narratives that emerged. 32% of all ads fit into more than one category and were coded into all categories in which they represented. One advertisement did not fit within these three categories, an advertisement focusing on environmental concerns and was coded independently of the three primary categories.

The fear and crime category was then broken down into three subcategories: 1) drugs and drug cartels, 2) criminals and physical violence, and 3) the threat of terrorism. Ads that contained terrorism narratives were not included in the criminals and physical violence category in order to distinguish between threats of potential physical violence to your person (e.g. murder, home invasion) from acts of premeditated mass murder. This category is designed to capture fear-based narratives connected to the perceived criminal "threat" of immigrants.

The cultural or national differences category included any advertisements that mentioned specific countries, specific countries flags, religions, Spanish speaking, or English language only narratives. This category is designed to capture

"othering," and the immigrant threat to American culture and customs.

Advertisements with economic narratives were coded as such when there was mention of jobs or job loss, education resources, health care, social security benefits or cards, or other social and public services.

Negative Metaphors and Immigration

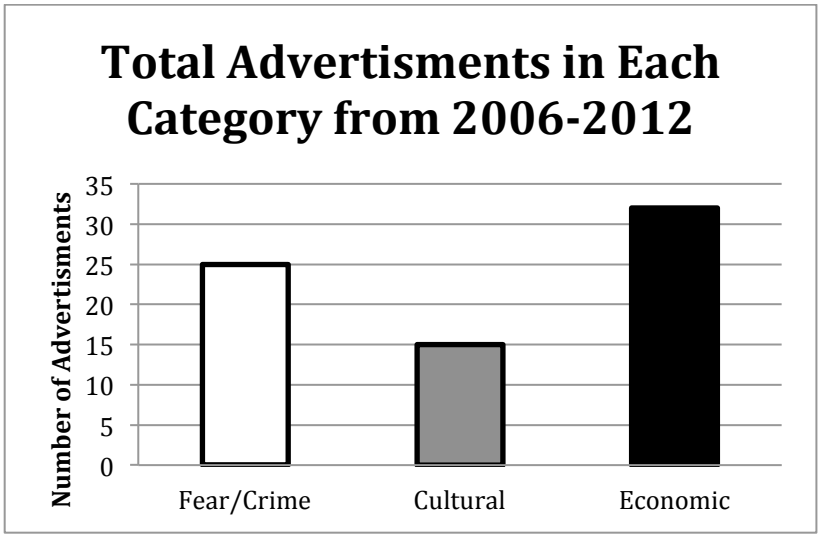
Independent of the three primary narratives, advertisements were also coded for the use of negative metaphors to describe immigrants or immigration. This category often included immigrants as objects metaphors, maritime and martial metaphors. For instance, immigrants were liked to "waves of illegal aliens," Americans or border security being "outmanned," or immigrants as a "road block" to Americans achieving jobs. This category is designed to capture the immigrants as metaphors that Otto (1999) found in U.S. newspapers in the mid-90's and Massey (2012) tracked from 1965 through 2009 in popular newspapers.

Findings

Total in Categories and Subcategories from 2006-2012

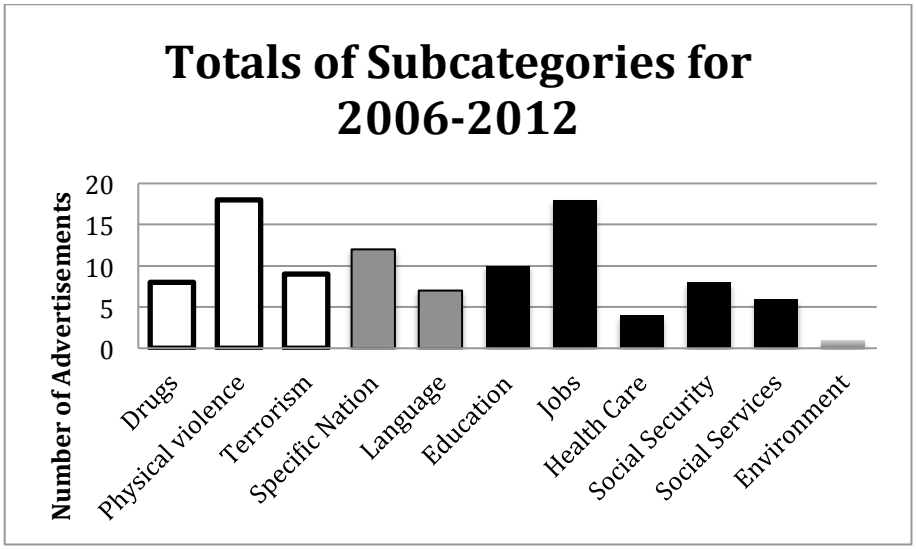
As shown in figure 1, from 2006 through 2012 economic narratives were present in 60.38 percent of advertisements. Fear and crime narratives accounted for 47.16 percent of ads and cultural difference narratives made up 26.42 percent of ads.

Figure 1



As figure 2 indicates, within the three primary categories, the two most common subcategories of narratives were criminal acts/physical violence and job loss, each accounting for 33.96 percent of all ads. The third most common narrative was for the advertisement to mention a particular country or depict a specific country's flag; these advertisements comprised 22.64 percent of total ads.

Figure 2

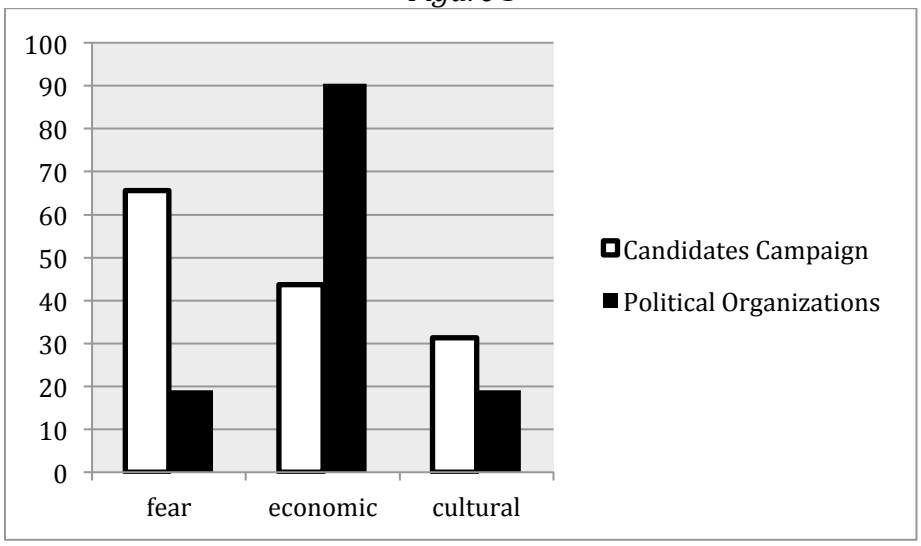


Advertisements Created by a Candidates' Campaign vs. Political Organizations

32 of the 53 advertisements were created by a candidate's campaign, whereas the remaining 21 were created by other political organizations. These organizations were groups such as the Minutemen PAC, National Republican Senatorial Committee, Coalition for Future American Workers, and Numbers USA. As illustrated in figure 3, advertisements made by a candidate's campaign contained fear based narratives 65% of advertisements, compared to just 19% in ads created by outside political organizations. Ads made by a candidates' campaign used economic narratives in 43% of advertisements, compared to political organizations whose ads used economic narratives 90% of ads. Furthermore, candidates' campaigns used cultural narratives in 31% of ads, compared to 19% in other organizations advertisements. Nearly three fourths of political organizations ads were run during presidential elections cycles in 2008 and 2012.

The stark differences in advertisement narratives between outside political organizations and candidates' campaigns may be credited to differences in the populations targeted by these groups. With the exception of presidential campaigns, politicians' campaign ads are designed to reach potential voters exclusively at the state level. In contrast, independent political organizations are most often investing in advertisements during presidential election cycles and attempting to reach a larger population than would any individual candidate in state-level elections. The differences in target audiences might lead to political organizations taking a softer stance on immigration that relies more heavily on broader economic issues.

Figure 3



Fear and Crime Narratives

As previously mentioned, fear-based advertisements accounted for nearly half of all political ads that focused on immigration issues in America. Breaking down the fear-based category further, I found that drugs or drug smuggling were communicated in 32% of fear-based ads. The threat of criminals and physical violence occurred in 72% of ads within this category and threats of terrorism were present in 36% of these ads. For example, an advertisement funded by Friends of John McCain in 2010 begins with John McCain and a border security agent walking along the U.S. Mexico border. John McCain alludes to the problems of the border and immigration, stating, "Drug and human smuggling, home invasions, murder."

60% of fear-based advertisements communicated that immigrants were capable of multiple types of threats. For example, 2006 congressional candidate Randy Graf aired a commercial portraying a small female child walking through a house to open the front door while the voice over proclaimed, "Our borders are an

open door for the thousands who cross into our country illegally today. Drugs, criminals, even terrorists. We just don't know." The advertisement ends with a pregnant woman holding her stomach stating, "For the safety of our children and all Americans, vote for Randy Graf."

Fear-based narratives such as this capitalize on an "us vs. them" framework, or "othering," by defining the out-group, immigrants, as threatening, aggressive, and ultimately possessing undesirable and unacceptable traits. These advertisements define an "us," supposedly legal citizens of the U.S., as the victims of immigration by using language such as *our children*, for *our safety*, and the safety of Americans. The Randy Graf commercial seeks to further define the differences between the out-group, the savages, and the in-group as innocent and pure through the portrayal of a young female child and a pregnant woman. In isolation, the portrayal of an entire population of people as being murderers, rapists, and drug dealers smacks of blatant xenophobia.

These advertisements posit that the "outsiders," or the "them" in the Us vs. Them framework are immigrants. The "they" according to these ads, are a direct threat to Americans' personal safety. Advertisements can reinforce ideas about who these threatening immigrants are through visuals of the U.S. Mexico border. This depiction signals to the viewer that threatening immigrants are those that come from Latin America. However, 28% of the fear-based ads explicitly define *which* immigrants the viewer is to fear through visual and/or audio representations of particular nationalities.

Nation-Specific or Cultural

Of the 28% percent of advertisements that comprised the cultural category, 46% of these ads mentioned Spanish speaking or English speaking only narratives. 60% showed a specific nation's flag, in particular Mexico's flag with the exception of one advertisement, which depicted El Salvador's flag. 46% of cultural ads verbally mentioned a specific nation and 80% of all cultural ads verbally or visually depicted specific nation. 53% of cultural ads also contained fear narratives. For example, an advertisement aired by Republican Tom Tancredo during his run for the nomination for U.S. President in 2008 portrays images of multiple people lying dead. Images of Latino gang members are then displayed on screen, while the narrator states, "Mothers killed. Children executed. The tactics of vicious Central American gangs now on U.S. soil. Pushing drugs, raping kids, destroying lives." This advertisement attaches a specific nationality of immigrants that are to be perceived as threatening. Like the Randy Graf advertisement, the ad portrays mothers and children as victims of violent immigrants in order to further polarize the definitions of us vs. them to being vicious murders vs. innocent women and children.

Often, advertisements may not have an audio representation of specific cultures to fear, relying only on visual representations and cues. In a 2006 congressional race, Vernon Robinson released an attack ad on his opponent. In the advertisement, Robinson posits that his opponent voted to allow convicted child molesters to immigrate to America. The voice is accompanied by mug shots of two Latino men with the names Sanchez and Rodriguez beneath their photos. The narrator states, "These illegal aliens pay no taxes, take our jobs, and our government

handouts, then spit in our face, and burn our flag." The ad shows a series of individuals protesting while holding Mexican flags, followed by several photos of the American flag being burned. This advertisement again portrays immigrants as threatening to children, while also defining for the viewer that immigrants from Mexico are especially threatening to Americans. Furthermore, the advertisement puts forth that Mexican immigrants are not only threatening to Americans' safety, but are blatantly anti-American and brazen enough to burn the American flag in mass protests.

Threatening cultural narratives create 'others' in societies, which can be scapegoated as the causes of societal ills such as crime and drug abuse (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Advertisements that employ race-baiting, or (more precisely) "ethnicity-baiting," appear to be quite successful in their ability to condition their viewers to have strongly negative attitudes towards minority immigrant groups (Mendelberg 2001; Hurwitz and Peffley 2005; Peffley, Hurwitz, and Sniderman 1997; Gilens 1996; and Gilliam 1999). Arguably then these advertisements are not just successful in priming negative attitudes towards undocumented Latinos, but all Latinos. Given that roughly a third of white Americans believe that over half of Latinos in America are here illegally, for many the words Latinos and "illegals" become nearly synonymous (Torregrosa 2012). Threatening cultural-based narratives do not just have downstream consequences for viewers perceptions of Latino immigrants, but likely for Latinos more broadly.

Economic

Most political campaign advertisements employed economic narratives to describe immigration issues, comprising 60% of all ads. The most common narrative in these advertisements related American job losses caused by illegal immigration, accounting for 56.25% of economic advertisements. Education narratives were present in 31% of ads within the economic category. Education narratives most often were centered in college education. For example, in a 2010 Sharron Angle attack ad on Harry Reid the narrator states, "Harry Reid is fighting for a program that would give preferred college tuition rates to none other than illegal aliens. Using your money to pay for it." Social security accounted for 25% of economic narratives, Social services were broadly mentioned in 18.75% of economic ads, and 12.5% of economic narratives were that of health care cost.

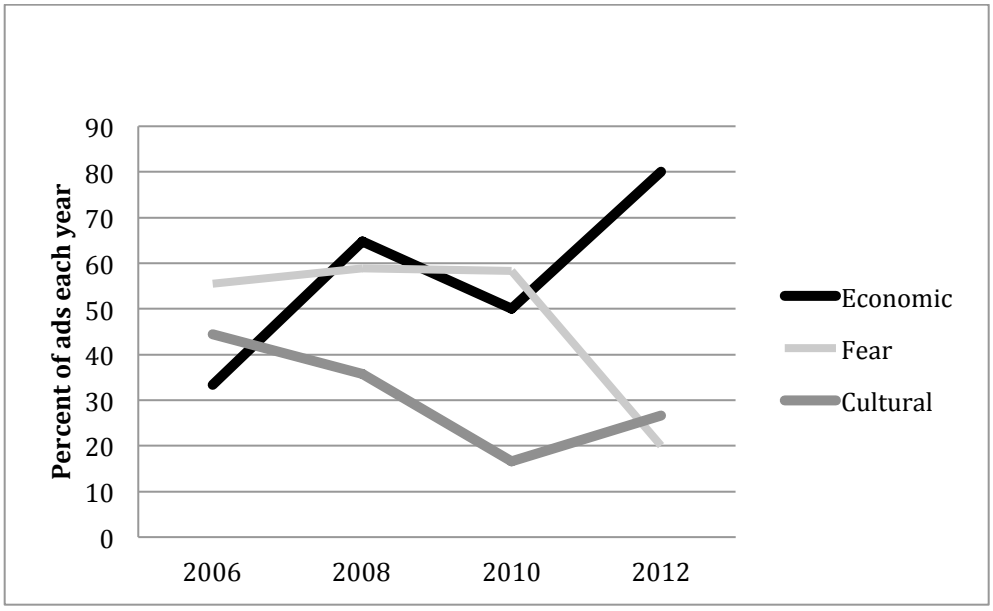
Trends From 2006-2012

In a Pew Research poll in 2006, 10% of Americans considered immigration to be the single most important issue facing the country, a 20-year high. In 2006, immigration issues were brought to the forefront of Americans minds after the introduction of the highly contested, anti-immigration Sensenbrenner bill. The debate over this bill, and immigration reform more broadly, sparked protests numbering over a million people across America and brought new energy to the immigration debate (Félix, González and Ramírez 2008). By late 2007, America was facing an economic recession that quickly became a more pressing issue than immigration policy to many Americans. Trends in ads from 2006-2012 are reflective of these broader societal issues and illustrate how the focus on the economic

recession changed the way in which issues of immigration were being framed and discussed.

Economic narratives were the least common narrative in 2006, present in only a third of all ads (see figure 4). By 2008, economic arguments nearly doubled to comprise 64 percent of all political campaign advertisements that highlighted immigration policies. These ads remained fairly steady at ~50 percent of total immigration-related political ads in 2010, but by 2012 were present in 80 percent of all immigrations ads. Cultural narratives accounted for 44 percent of all ads in 2006 and 35.7 percent of ads in 2008. By 2010 cultural narratives had decreased to only 16.6 percent of ads and by 2012 cultural ads increased to 26 percent of all ads. Fear-based narratives accounted for between 55.5 and 58.33 percent of all ads from 2006 through 2010. In 2012, however, fear-based narratives saw a sharp decline, accounting for only a fourth of all political ads featuring immigration narratives. While terrorism advertisements accounted for 60 and 66.6 percent of fear based ads in 2006 and 2008 by 2010 terrorism narratives no longer were present.

Figure 4



The shift from fear-based and cultural advertisements to economic narratives over a 6-year period can likely be accredited to several factors. "The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005," commonly known as the Sensenbrenner bill, passed the U.S. House of Representatives, but was struck down by the senate. This highly contested bill, in combination with a 20-year high in Americans concerns about immigration (Brader, Valentino, Suhay, 2008) was reflected in the numbers of fear-based and cultural based advertisements of 2006.

While fear-based narratives remained frequent, cultural narratives found themselves at an all-time low in 2010. In 2010 Arizona introduced a highly controversial legislative act, named, "The Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act", commonly known as SB 1070. SB 1070 received harsh criticism for legalizing racial profiling, particularly profiling of Latinos (Lacayo,

2011). The backlash against SB 1070 and accusations of racism were not just aimed at Jan Brewer, but other Republican supporters of the bill and copycat measures. In the wake of SB 1070, Numbers USA, an anti-illegal immigration organization, released an advertisement addressing claims of racism stating,

> "The immigration debate should not be about the color of people's skin, or their nation of origin, or their religion or where their grandparents were born. The debate should be about the numbers. Should congress give work permits to one million new legal immigrants again this year, when 20 million Americans of all colors, national origins, and religions are having trouble finding jobs?"

The decrease in 2010 of cultural based immigration advertisements may be construed as an effort by many organizations, either deliberately or unconsciously, to disassociate themselves from accusations that they were perpetuating anti-immigrant sentiment towards Latinos.

The onset of economic recession in late 2008 paved the way for a new narrative, the economic narrative, to rise in prominence in immigration ads. In 2012, not only were economic narratives present in 80 percent of ads, but fear advertisements quickly declined in prevalence and cultural ads only accounted for a quarter of all ads. The sudden abandonment of fear-based advertisement and rapid increase of the economic ads was not just the result of an economic recession, but marked the beginning of softer rhetoric towards immigration in anti-immigration ads by the GOP. With the United States' growing Latino population, who overwhelmingly disapproved of SB 1070, and similar Republican anti-immigrant efforts (Lopez, Taylor, Morin 2010; Passel, Cohn, and Lopez 2011) the Latino vote became a threat to the Republican Party's chances of winning. 67 percent of Latinos having voted for a Barack Obama in the 2008 election and by 2012, 71 percent of

Latinos having voted for Barack Obama. The growing Latino population voting for democrats made the Latino population more and more evident as a voting population the Republican Party could not ignore (Lopez and Taylor 2012).

Harsh anti-immigration rhetoric was not just pushing Latinos away from the GOP, but mobilizing them to vote for candidates in other political parties. As a result, the Republican party moved away from the more hard-lined xenophobic narratives and towards the economy, an issue that 87 percent of voters in 2012 reported as "very important" issue in deciding their vote (Pew Research Center 2012). In addition, voters expressed increasingly positive attitudes towards immigration. In 2012, 35 percent of Americans were in favor of decreasing immigration, an all-time low in the over 40 years the survey had been conducted (Jones, Jeffrey 2012). With the economic concerns at the forefront of Americans' minds, immigration concerns likely fell to the wayside. With a decreasing importance placed on immigration issues and am increasing democratic voting Latino population, the republican party needed to shift away from xenophobic rhetoric and shift towards economic narratives (Lopez and Taylor 2012; Jeffrey Passel, Cohn, and Lopez 2011).

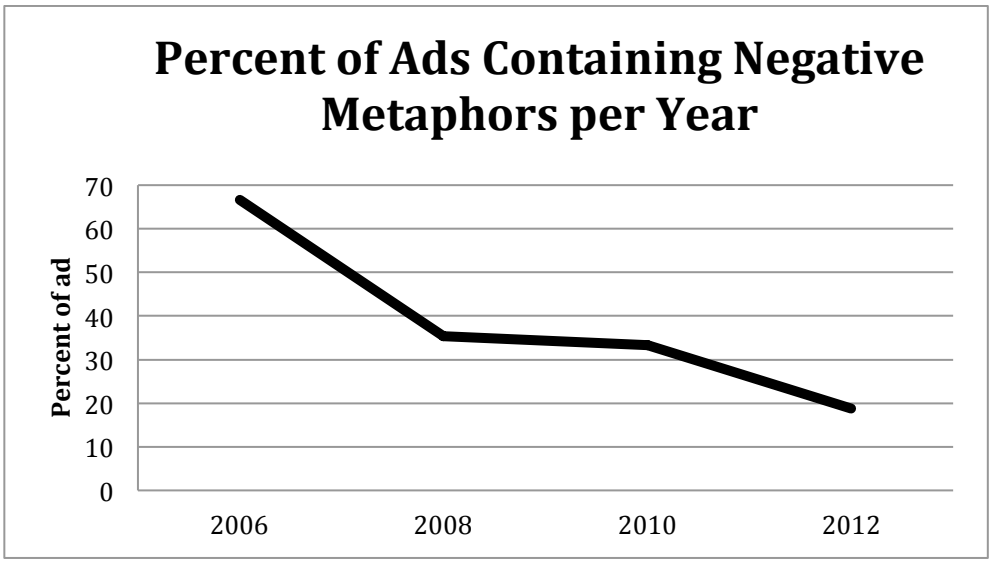
Metaphors and Immigration

Discussion of immigrants or immigration issues in political campaign advertising often employed maritime or martial metaphors to describe the issues. For example, a 2010 advertisement by Republican congressional candidate Sharron Angle using maritime metaphors stated, "Waves of illegal aliens streaming across our border, joining violent gangs, forcing families to live in fear." A 2010

advertisement by Republican governor Jan Brewer, standing on the U.S.-Mexico border, shows Brewer pointing to signs stating that the Arizona border an active drug and human smuggling. In response to the sign Brewer uses a martial metaphor stating, "We will not surrender any part of Arizona."

Metaphors about immigration occurred in 35.8 percent of all advertisements. Interestingly, these metaphors were present in two thirds of all ads in 2006, but declined roughly a third of ads in 2008 and 2010, and were used in only 18.75 percent of all ads 2012 (see figure 5).

Figure 5



These findings are consistent with Massey and Prens' (2012) findings of negative metaphors usage per year in U.S. political campaign advertisements. Massey and Pren (2012) found that negative metaphor usage was more common in 2005, but decreased substantially by 2009. Unfortunately, Massey's data concludes in 2009, so comparisons of metaphor usage in newspapers and political campaign

advertisements cannot be done in the years after 2009. Interestingly, while Massey's data and this data show spikes in metaphor usage coinciding with anti-immigrant measures, such as late 2005's Sensenbrenner bill, the same is not true for 2010's SB 1070. While it's difficult to discern why metaphor usage did not rise in the 2010 political campaign ads, I would speculate that, if political campaign advertising in 2010 is a reflection of larger political rhetoric in other media then the lack of dehumanizing metaphors is representative of a shift in rhetoric in response to popular opinion, but also contributed to the way for the increasingly positive attitudes towards immigration that reached a 40-year high just two years later.

Discussion

In the wake of the 2012 presidential re-election of Barack Obama, a bipartisan group of senators agreed to put forth a set of guiding principles on immigration reform, including a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. One of these senators, Republican John McCain, was asked by reporters why he was pushing for such immigration reform now. McCain answered, "Elections, elections" (Preston 2013). Given that Obama garnered 71 percent of the growing Latino population in the 2012 election (Lopez and Taylor 2012), it seems increasingly apparent to the GOP that its politicians would need to abandon harsh immigration ideologies and rhetoric, or risk going down on a sinking ideological ship. While there remains considerable differences between Republicans embracing immigration reform and those rejecting it, there are strong reasons to believe that, in future elections, Republicans will continue to tone down anti-immigration

rhetoric. Although a rapidly shrinking number of potential Republican voters view immigration as a top priority (Pew Research Center 2013), 84 percent of Republican respondents agreed with the statement that American should be restricting and controlling people who come to America more than we currently do (Kohut et. al. 2012). If Republican voters' attitudes towards immigration remain the same in the 2016 presidential election, it is likely that we will begin to see a growing divide between rhetoric in presidential Republican candidates advertisements, political organizations ads, and republican primary immigration ads.

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